# LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

## Hands Off Europe

R.P.D.

## Socialism and Steel

JOHN EATON

## Concerning Practice

MAO TSE-TUNG

February, 1951

Price: One Shilling

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# ASTONISHING !

WE are not easily astonished. But readers' response to Circulation-Raiser No. 1, sending free copies in their name to people whom they feel deserve it, is really startling. A member of the staff has had to spend full time on it, extracts from whose report are quoted here: 'Most impressive is that so much care and thought has been spent in choosing the best type of prospective new reader. Many have clearly made lists of fellow members of their union or trades council, co-operators, local councillors: 90 per cent. of the names sent in must be people active in the Labour movement. Several have enclosed personal letters to be forwarded, with such remarks as "I think it one of the most helpful of modern publications, and I am having a specimen copy sent because I feel you will recognise how profitable it is for the better understanding of world affairs. Reading both sides makes it so much easier to decide for yourself what is right". And: "I have been a reader for 15 years and find the Notes of the Month especially valuable. I know you will, too. Tell me what you think of it when we meet next week". A Labour Party man who looked up the January number in his local library, says he "never read such informative and courageous political literature, with the privately owned press now going rapidly all News Hysterical". Several sent contributions to cover the cost. A very keen Northern reader who has won 18 new readers recently says: "I find there are few intelligent people who, having read one copy, do not ask for more". He proposes to call on those who get a specimen copy after they have had time to digest it. A reader in the West asks if she can use the scheme next month, because she wants to send out J. D. Bernal's pamphlet *The Way to Peace* to her friends first. They are still coming in as fast as ever and "once you get down to it, there's no end to the names that occur to you", to quote another Northerner. Obviously we must repeat the form on the back cover of the February issue'.

So much for the Circulation-Raiser Department's first report.

## '. . . JOB DONE'

Another sign of the times is the way people have asked for news of Eastern County Labour Party Chairman's Discussion Group. Lancaster readers who want to do the same ask how he started. Perhaps the short answer is to quote a recent letter from him: 'How are we doing? Fine, thanks. Our last was glorious. The debate on Shaw was high, and all shades of opinion there. The number was 31; I should have had 50 but the weather was hellish: two came 14 miles through that snow by car'. He encloses a copy of the invitation 'to all progressive people who believe in peace on earth and good will to man to buy a *Labour Monthly* (1s. any newsagents) and participate in the next discussion (The Washington Talks). . . This is a great opportunity to get a correct theoretical approach to socialism, so don't miss it! The first two *Labour Monthly* group meetings were a success. Experience is a great teacher, so this will be better. War is inhuman—wasteful—primitive. Democracy is better above ground than underground'. Now, what is his recipe? 'All it needs is a small hall. Get 20 to promise to buy *Labour Monthly* to

***Continued on inside back cover.***

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## Notes of the Month

# *Hands Off Europe*

**The Judge asked what he meant by 'Great Germanic Community'. Quisling replied: 'A corporation of the Nordic Scandinavian States with all other Germanic peoples—that is, Germany, Great Britain, France and the United States'.**

QUISLING ON TRIAL (*The Times*, August 23, 1945)

SIX years ago this month, on February 11, 1945, the Crimea Declaration of the Governments of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union was published. The Crimea Declaration pledged the British, American and Soviet Governments

> to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this war. We believe that this is a sacred obligation which our Governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world.

The Crimea Declaration pledged the British, American and Soviet



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Governments to the aim ' to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism ' throughout Europe. The Crimea Declaration pledged the British, American and Soviet Governments in respect of Germany:

> It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate all German industry that could be used for military production.

Today General Eisenhower returns to Europe to rebuild the German Army under the generals of Nazism, to draw in Franco, and to lead the ' integrated ' Anglo-French-Nazi-Franco forces for the openly declared aim of war on the Soviet Union.

> Live loathed and long,
> Most smiling, smooth, detested parasites,
> Courteous destroyers, affable wolves, meek bears,
> You fools of fortune.

**Then and Now**

Introducing the Crimea Declaration in the House of Commons on February 27, 1945, Mr. Churchill declared:

> The impression I brought back from the Crimea and from all my other contacts is that Marshal Stalin and the Soviet leaders wish to live in honourable friendship and equality with the Western democracies. I feel also that their word is their bond. I know of no Government which stands to its obligations even in its own despite more solidly than the Russian Soviet Government.

The truth of this has been proved anew over these six years—not least in relation to Germany. Mr. Churchill continued:

> Sombre indeed would be the fortunes of mankind if some awful schism arose between the Western democracies and the Russian Soviet Union.

Mr. Churchill did not inform the House of Commons that he was already at that time contemplating, preparing and organising for such an ' awful schism '. He did not inform the House that as far back as 1942, with the fortunes of war still in the balance, with the Soviet Union as Britain's only ally, when the Soviet Union was bearing all the brunt of the war and dealing the decisive blows against the Nazi armies, Mr. Churchill, at the same moment as he was pouring out glowing public eulogies of the heroism of ' our valiant Soviet ally ', was in private drawing up a memorandum (as revealed last year by Harold Macmillan on his behalf at the Western



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Bloc Strasbourg Conference) for the war after the war, setting out the strategy to defeat 'Russian barbarism' in Europe. And there are still Labour innocents who will inform us that the Soviet Union enjoyed 'a fund of goodwill' at the end of the war (meaning the Churchillian eulogies), which only her own actions have subsequently dissipated. The historical record has since abundantly shown that the whole strategy of the anti-Soviet Western bloc, to take over from defeated Nazism after Nazism collapsed, was prepared by Churchill and Anglo-American reaction long before the end of the war.

**Hear, Hear, Mr. Eden**

In the same debate Mr. Eden warned from experience against the trap of propaganda about the 'Bolshevik bogy' or the 'menace of Russian expansion' leading Britain a second time into the disastrous policy of rearming Germany:

> This, of course [allegations of Russian 'dreams of European domination'], is the constant unceasing theme of German propaganda. It is poured out day by day, night by night, without end.
>
> It was their theme before the war. Then it was the Bolshevik bogy, and how well Hitler used it. How well visitors to Nuremburg were told by Germans that we met that it was the fear of Russia.
>
> I had plenty of it chucked at me, even by Hitler himself. It was the constant theme.
>
> Can any one doubt that that theme before the war was a constant element in making it difficult for us to establish and form understanding with Soviet Russia?
>
> Can any one doubt that if we had had in 1939 the unity between Russia, Britain and the United States that we have cemented at Yalta, there would not have been the present war?
>
> I go further. Can any one doubt that so long as we uphold that unity there will not be another war . . .
>
> Make no mistake. The moment this fighting ceases, Germany will be out on the old theme of propaganda again. She will again try to play us off against Russia, Russia against America and ourselves.
>
> Let us be very careful we do not fall victims to that . . We have to be on our guard.

Wise words, Mr. Eden. But they are more necessary and timely to be said in 1951 than in 1945. Will Mr. Eden kindly repeat them in the next House of Commons debate, when his leader and Mr. Attlee descant on the 'Communist menace' and the 'Russian peril' as justifying the decision to rearm Germany?



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**Nazi Strategy**

The last testament of Nazi strategy, of Hitler, Himmler and Goebbels, of Doenitz and Schwerin von Krosigk, before the final military downfall of 1945, pointed to the future formation of the Atlantic Pact and the Brussels Plan as the path forward for Fascism and German military revival in Europe.

> If only we hold out without allowing ourselves to be downcast by suffering and sacrifice . . . sooner or later the peoples of the West will unite their forces with ours to help true Socialism to its ultimate victory.
>
> (*Voelkischer Beobachter,* February 21, 1945).

The Order of the Day of Admiral Doenitz, Hitler's successor, to the Wehrmacht on May 1, 1945, on the eve of capitulation declared:

> Against the British and Americans I shall continue the struggle only so far and so long as they hinder me in carrying out the fight against Bolshevism.

Count Schwerin von Krosigk, Foreign Minister in the Doenitz Cabinet, openly speculated, like Chiang Kai-shek after his defeat in the Far East, on a third world war as the solution:

> A Bolshevised Europe will be the first step on the road to world revolution, which the Soviets have been following for twenty-five years. The achievement of that goal or a third world war are the inescapable alternatives.

*The Times* of 1945 commented:

> It must be stressed that the attempt by Doenitz, both in his statement to the German people and in his order of the day to the Wehrmacht, to drive a wedge between the British and Americans on the one side and the Russians on the other will be as completely ineffective as the many previous efforts made. (*The Times,* May 3, 1945).

'Completely ineffective'? Think again, gentlemen of *The Times,* when you contemplate the Brussels Plan and the Eisenhower Mission to rebuild the German ex-Nazi army with Anglo-American backing in order to re-establish Hitler's Eastern Front against the Soviet Union.

**'Re-education'**

Is it surprising that today the re-inflated Nazis in Western Germany (not to mention their associates in Spain, the Argentine or the United States) strut about boasting that Hitler's only mistake was that he was a pioneer and martyr before his time, that the British and Americans have been a little slow in the uptake, but that they have come round at last to Hitler's point of view on the Grand Crusade against the Enemy in the East, and will soon be erecting



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monuments to him. The Anglo-American 'educators' (save the mark) went to Western Germany to 're-educate' the Germans. However, they encountered the same fate as the man who sought to fulfil the veterinary's instructions and blow the pill through the tube into the horse's throat. 'The horse blew hardest'. The 're-educators' were themselves 're-educated' in Western Germany, and came back thoroughly indoctrinated with Hitlerite anti-Soviet venom.

### The War After the War

The truth is that the war of Fascism and reaction against the freedom of the peoples of Europe did not end in May, 1945, any more than it began in 1939. It only changed its shape. Anglo-American imperialism, which had originally built up and armed the power of Hitler and Japan against the Soviet Union and against European and Asiatic freedom, resumed direct leadership of the anti-Soviet coalition after Hitler and Japan had collapsed. All the forces of Nazism and fascism throughout the world which had followed Hitler moved over to the new Anglo-American leadership. In Greece the shooting war was continued to crush the resistance movement, which had liberated Greece before the arrival of any British soldiers, and restore the quislings and collaborators of Hitler. In other parts of Europe, wherever Anglo-American military control extended, manœuvres were conducted under the guise of alliance and assistance to break the power of the resistance movement of the people and restore the rule of reaction.

### America Disrupts Europe

All this had been prepared and planned before the end of the war. Step by step the programme was carried out. The 'cold war' was proclaimed by American imperialism as the successor to the shooting war, and was soon revealed as the preparation of a new shooting war. Potsdam was denounced. A reactionary Western Germany was built up under the old pro-Hitler monopolists and militarists. The Truman Doctrine proclaimed the principle of American military intervention to sustain anti-Soviet Governments. The Council of Foreign Ministers was broken up by the arbitrary fiat of General Marshall. The Marshall Plan prepared the American economic subjugation of Western Europe with thinly disguised strategic aims. The Brussels Pact and the Atlantic Pact carried forward the strategic establishment of the new military anti-Soviet coalition. Finally the end of 1950 has seen the open announcement of the decision of American imperialism to rearm Western Germany and



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Japan. The wheel has come full circle. What took two decades after 1918, it is now attempted to rush through within six years of 1945.

Must it be so again?
The jungle code and the hypocrite gesture?
A poppy wreath for the slain
and a cut-throat world for the living? that stale imposture
played on us once again?

**Eisenhower in 1944**

When General Eisenhower landed in Europe in 1944, he did not come to liberate Europe, any more than he had landed in North Africa the year before, and made the deal with Darlan, to liberate North Africa. That was only the legend, which it would have been unseemly to disturb so long as there was a shred of a basis of co-operation maintained, but which must now in the present grave crisis give place to the truth, however harsh. For three years, so long as Nazism was dealing its heaviest blows on the body of the Soviet people, the Anglo-American front in Western Europe was delayed. Only when the power of the Nazi armies had been irretrievably broken by the Soviet armies, when it was already clear that the Soviet armies could by their own strength complete the destruction of the military power of Nazism, and in co-operation with the liberation movement of the European peoples, complete the liberation of the whole of Europe from West to East, only then the Anglo-American armies, hitherto held back from the conflict, were landed to forestall the popular liberation of Western Europe, take over from Nazism and in the guise of allies restore the forces of reaction.

**Eisenhower Drops the Mask**

This corresponded to the ' police ' theory or ' garrison ' theory of the rôle of the Anglo-American forces at the end of the war, frequently adumbrated by Anglo-American representatives in their more confidential statements during the war.

'What will happen in Europe after an Allied victory? It is a question that our best friends have often put to me in Madrid', said Sir Samuel Hoare, British Ambassador to Spain, in a speech to the Conservative Club at Chelsea.

'Particularly when the war develops in our favour, will it be necessary to make it plain that we have the food ready to avoid famine and *the garrisons equally ready to prevent anarchy*.'

(Sir Samuel Hoare, speech at Chelsea, September 18, 1942).

People in the United States and Britain must continue to make sacrifices



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after the war's end . . . After the war there would be a complete state of chaos throughout the world. *Nations will be in revolution unless people of other nations are going to police them.*

(Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, speech at Syracuse University, January 5, 1943).

Eisenhower's decisive front was not against the Nazis, who kept their main forces for the Eastern Front, but against the peoples to prevent the liberation of Western Europe from Nazi domination turning into a liberation from imperialist or American domination. The Nazis understood this basic common purpose very well, and only presented token forces against Eisenhower.

There are more Nazi divisions left in Norway than face the entire Eisenhower front. (*Observer*, April 22, 1945).

Hence there is no contradiction between the rôle of Eisenhower in 1944 and in 1951. Today Eisenhower has come openly as the American spearhead of reaction against the peoples of Europe, and now operates as the direct ally of German militarism and reaction. The Eisenhower of 1951 drops the mask of 1944 and stands revealed as the heir of Nazism and the military rallying point of its remnants.

**The Old, Old Story**

But, urge the apologists of Nazi rearmament, is not the Eisenhower Plan for a new German Army as part of an 'integrated' West European Army only a plan for 'defence' of Western Europe against a hypothetical Russian invasion? Is not the Atlantic Pact and the colossal super-rearmament now being imposed in its name by the American controllers on the Western European vassals only a harmless measure of 'defence' against the terrifying 'menace' of Russian 'aggression' 'sweeping over Europe'. Holy simplicity! Do they really forget that this was the precise myth which Hitler used to put over his super-rearmament and preparation of aggressive war? Have they forgotten that Secretary of State Acheson explicitly stated, in his speech at Washington on April 22, 1950, that the 'aggression' against which the Atlantic Pact is directed means not only military attack, but Communist propaganda ('the word "aggression" includes not only military attack, but propaganda warfare'), and that Defence Secretary Johnson refused to answer a question of Senator Connally on June 5, 1950, as to the conditions under which the Atlantic Pact would come into operation, on the grounds that the answer, if given 'in public', would be 'exploited by the Communist press'? Have they failed to note that the same fire-eaters who paint the most lurid pictures of Western Europe lying helpless and defenceless before the menace of Russian military expansion, simultane-



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ously complain that not a single Russian soldier has marched, and even make it an additional grievance that the machiavellian Russians remain at peace, while the Western imperialist Powers go to war, and are even driven to advocate more and more openly a 'preventive war' as the only solution, to attack Russia directly as the only way to get their war started, and to become, in Navy Secretary Matthews's famous phrase, 'aggressors for peace'?

### American Ambassador's Testimony

If they refuse to believe the evidence of facts, that the drive to war is being intensified in Western Europe, and the drive for peace is being intensified in Eastern Europe, will they refuse to heed the testimony of a pukka American Sahib, the United States Ambassador in Moscow, Admiral Kirk, reporting in Frankfurt in December, 1950:

> Currently, Admiral Kirk detects none of the signs of war that experts watch for.
>
> For example: Soviet army units are remaining at peacetime strength. No over-age classes are being called up. No extraordinary movements of troops or supplies have been detected.
>
> There is no drive in Russia to build bomb shelters, or restrict civilian consumption of critical materials. There is no shifting of labour away from peace-time to war-time industries.
>
> (U.S. News and World Report, December 15, 1950).

A sufficient contrast in every point with present unhappy Britain under the American war dictators. The Report continues:

> As U.S. and British military experts in Frankfurt see it, there is no sign of any build-up of Soviet forces in East Germany.

This is the moment when the American-dominated Western Powers choose ostentatiously to sabotage the Soviet proposal for a Four Power Conference on German demilitarisation by delaying any reply until they could first announce their decision to remilitarise Western Germany and call in Eisenhower to speed the War Plan.

### Schumacher Blows the Gaff

Defence? Listen to the German Social Democratic leader, the esteemed colleague of Attlee, Bevin and Moch—Herr Schumacher, the worthy inheritor of Hitler's War to the East, on the strategic objective of Nazi rearmament:

> *It is necessary that if war starts it should at once be carried East of the German frontier.*

Did this bellicose statement occur in some fiery platform speech in



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a West German beer-cellar? Did it occur in some obscure journal in the British or American Zone? Not at all. It is to be found in 'Comisco Information Service', Volume I, No. 1, January 6, 1950, published in London. 'Comisco', the scarecrow ghost of the defunct Second International, is maintained by the Labour Party, which accounts for over 56 per cent. of its claimed membership (5.4 million out of 9.6 million). The article is not printed as a discussion article, representing only the views of Herr Schumacher or even only of German Social Democracy. On the contrary, it is printed as the second main article, immediately following a laudatory article by Morgan Phillips on 'Tito's Jugoslavia', under the heading *'German Rearmament: The Socialist View'*. There is no disclaimer. Nor is this a new doctrine of Herr Schumacher:

> Dr. Kurt Schumacher, the leader of the Social Democrat Opposition in the Federal Parliament at Bonn, said the other day that *the first aim of a Western German army would be to reconquer what is now Western Poland and that it must try to fight its battles 'East of the Vistula'.*
>
> (*Manchester Guardian*, September 9, 1950).

**Back to Hitler**

This openly aggressive aim is no peculiar view of Schumacher and German Social Democracy as a lone voice in the wilderness. It is in reality the basic aim of the Atlantic Pact, not only as proclaimed to the housetops by the United States expansionists, who call the tune, and make no concealment of their aggressive aims, but also of British official circles. Thus the semi-official Royal Institute of International Affairs in its recent publication on 'Defence in the Cold War' sets out the warning that peace would only play into the hands of the Soviet Union and People's Democracies of Eastern Europe:

> Ten years of peace would immeasurably increase the power and stability of this group, whereas war in the near future would . . release explosive nationalist forces throughout Eastern Europe and expose the Soviet system to the destruction of its whole apparatus of centralised control.

Similarly the Tory Party General Election Manifesto of 1950:

> We are not prepared to regard those ancient States and nations which have fallen beneath the Soviet yoke as lost for ever.

The Labour Party Executive Manifesto on 'European Unity', published in June, 1950, echoes the same theme:

> The Kremlin has already mutilated Europe's unity by forcing its dominion on all the peoples of Eastern Europe—peoples which must return to the world of freedom before our task is ended.



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'Must return to the world of freedom'—i.e., people's democracy must be destroyed and capitalist relations must be restored. This is defined as 'our task'—i.e., the task of the Western Powers.

**Back to Hitler**

All this is simply the revised version in modern dress of the old Hitlerite March to the East preached by *Mein Kampf*:

> We put an end to the perpetual Germanic march towards the South and West of Europe and turn our eyes towards the lands of the East . . The colossal Empire in the East is ripe for dissolution.

So the old Hitlerite March to the East is to be resumed. The old Hitlerite pipe-dream ('the colossal Empire in the East is ripe for dissolution') is re-inflated, with crazy blindness to the lesson of the past decade, by the war maniacs of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, who have not even Hitler's excuse for ignorance ('would expose the Soviet system to the destruction of its whole apparatus of centralised control'). We know where that path led. We know what the explosion of that pipe-dream cost the world. We know what it cost the German people who let themselves be lured along that path. For this foul aim the Nazi Army is to be re-created. For this mad dream of ruin the British people are ordered to make new sacrifices, and the Z reservists, who fought to end Hitlerism for ever, are summoned to march alongside the Nazi butchers under American generals against the allies who saved them from fascist victory.

**Never**

It will not work. Do these cosy world strategists in the luxurious recesses of the Pentagon, who move their pawns and bases over every continent in grandiose blueprints of war, while expecting to remain snug and unscathed themselves; do these bellicose journalists of Main Street who have never seen a shot fired outside a film; do these ranting senators, who will one moment bawl for atom bombs to be dropped on the entire recalcitrant population of this planet, and the next moment panic at a rumour from a radio play or the jangle of a fire engine—do they really imagine that the peoples of Britain and France, peoples who have known what war means and all its destruction, do they really imagine that all the peoples of Western Europe, who have known the hell of Nazi occupation, are going to march, on the orders of a Gruenther and a Herod, for the sake of their dollars, alongside the scum and filth of Nazism and fascism, against their comrades, against the working



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class, against socialism in Europe? It will not work. Not all the billions they have lavished or propose to lavish on the spineless pensioner governments in their pay, the obsequious official classes, the time-serving brasshats and Social Democratic bootlickers, will make it work. And the truth of this is beginning to dawn on the startled dollar magnates. Hence the present crisis and controversy of American war policy.

**Crisis of United States Policy**

The crisis of the Truman-Marshall-Dulles-MacArthur war policy of the United States began with the fiasco in the Far East, with the bootless squandering of six billion dollars, and their puppet Chiang cowering behind American naval guns on an island refuge. It was carried further forward when they sought to avenge that fiasco by a grand military coup in Korea, concentrated all their array of military, naval and air power on one small and poor Asiatic nation, summoned all their satellites like mediæval vassals to supply contingents of troops—and then found themselves compelled to recognise the retreat of their unwieldy super-equipped forces, and the obvious unwillingness of their satellites to furnish more than a reluctant token blood-tribute. It was carried further forward when the seething revolt and indignation of all Asia against them began to find reflection even in the rarefied diplomatic atmosphere of Lake Success, to encourage vacillation and wavering in the camp of the satellites, and to lead to the cross-currents and contradictions revealed in the Empire Premiers' Conference, which could only be thinly covered over by a resounding, though vague, Peace Declaration. While grimly holding on to their Far Eastern strategy, the American leaders sought, with the aid of the Attlee interview and surrenders at Washington, to tighten their grip on the remaining 'loyal' tributary territory of Western Europe, to speed the rearmament of Western Germany and Japan, and to impose American military and industrial dictators on Western Europe. But now even on the 'loyalty' of Europe the doubts begin to spread in the anxious citadels of Washington.

**Taft—Hoover—Dulles**

So the loudly publicised debate on American foreign policy is opened—even at the same time as the reckless Truman budget for a military expenditure of fifty-two billion dollars is pushed through. Only a political innocent would imagine that the harshly critical animadversions of a Hoover or a Taft against Administration policy,



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or against the existing commitments in Korea or in Europe, represent a less extreme or less militarist policy than that of Truman, Acheson and Dulles. Insofar as any such flavour is added to them, it can be regarded as a transparent Republican electoral calculation, since the American people in every presidential election where the issue has been raised have always tended to vote for the man who 'kept them out of war' or promised to 'keep them out of war'—thus revealing the gulf between their desires and the agents of the big monopolies in charge of their affairs. On the contrary, Hoover's entire record is notorious; and Taft goes out of his way to emphasise that he is no 'isolationist' but rather what he calls an 'imperialist' out for American 'world domination':

> Mr. Taft said he should not—on the basis of his present proposals—be called an isolationist. His definition of his policy was that it might be more accurately called imperialism. He thinks that the United States should concentrate on building itself as a sea and air Power which could dominate the world to as large an extent as possible.
>
> (*The Times*, January 10, 1951).

**Which Way Europe ?**

The significance of the Taft-Hoover criticism of the policy of American military intervention in Europe, of committing American ground forces in Europe, building a West European vassal army under American command, or sending massive supplies of arms and weapons of destruction to Europe, is neither solicitude for peace nor for the rights of the European peoples. Its significance is that it is an expression of their distrust of the European peoples—the dawning fear that the peoples of Western Europe will never fight for the aims of the American dictators and their puppets, any more than the Chinese people were willing, and that American military intervention in Europe will end in a no less colossal fiasco than in China. Therein is the sign and portent of the present American controversy on foreign policy—and its plain lesson for the peoples of Europe.

**Hands Off Europe**

The present rulers of Western Europe, the Attlees and the Schumans, have handed over their countries tied and bound to the military dictation of an Eisenhower and the industrial dictation of a Herod. All that the Communists and the left warned with regard to the Marshall Plan three and a half years ago, that its acceptance would prepare the way for the American economic and military domination of Western Europe, and for the intensified drive to a



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new world war under American control, and that in the course of this drive the initial hypocritical talk about aims of 'recovery' would give way to open and ruthless commandments for scarcity and re-armament, have been proved literally and precisely true with a completeness rarely paralleled in the records of political prediction. But the last word rests with the peoples of Europe.

**Europe Will Arise**

For centuries Britain used to play the rôle of the Arbiter of Europe, to keep Europe divided, to subsidise governments and build coalitions with gold, to strangle revolutions and to foment wars. Now the United States has sought to take over Britain's rôle, and Britain is reduced to a subsidised object of policy. The United States imperialists, following the old maxim of 'Divide and Rule', have manœuvred to divide Europe, to set Western Europe against Eastern Europe, to establish barriers and bans against the fruitful flow of trade between Western and Eastern Europe, to partition Germany, to make Western Europe their economic-political preserve and their military base, to prepare war of Western Germany against Eastern Germany and of Western Europe against Eastern Europe. But it will be for the peoples of Europe to smash these infamous plans and drive out the American dictators. Europe will assuredly arise and throw off the shackles. United Europe on the basis of the freedom and peaceful friendship of all the European nations. United Germany East and West. Co-operation of Europe East and West. Europe United for Peace.

January 18, 1951. R.P.D.

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# GLIMPSES OF INDIA

D. N. PRITT, K.C.

**(1) Secunderabad District Jail**

A STRONGLY-BUILT jail—the British knew how to build them—secured by wall after wall, locked door after locked door. Neat white-washed blocks, inhabited, if one accepts the notices painted on the end-walls, by two varieties of human beings, called respectively 'Ordinary' and 'Communist'. One speculates as to whether the former are those privileged to get the ordinary standards of justice from the ordinary courts.

I penetrate in the end to the condemned cells, where my clients, listed as Communists and convicted of murder by specially appointed courts which tried them without defence counsel, in a language unknown to them, and without anyone to interpret what was said against them, lie under sentence of death. I talk to my clients, young, simple, sturdy, unbroken peasants, who have already spent twelve months—deprived even of visits from their relatives because the police 'investigate' everyone who seeks to visit them—in these condemned cells, whilst appeals and other challenges to the validity of their conviction make their way through the courts. They are theoretically in solitary confinement but actually three to a cell because of the overcrowding.

I tell them what is being done by their thousands of friends outside to secure them justice and rescue them from execution after such unsatisfactory trials. They reply in friendly and courageous terms: 'We appreciate all that is being done but that is not the important point. What is vital is that the fight for democracy all over the world should be carried forward'. They ask us to give this message to the whole movement. 'Keep up the fight for democracy. So long as we know that you are all devoting yourselves to that, we are content, and our own fate—however hard, however unjust—does not matter'.

Do they fully understand this fate that their prosecutors seek to give them, these brave, cheerful, intelligent, illiterate, peasant boys? Well, their jailers do their best to secure that they understand it; for during the brief intervals in which they are allowed out of their cells, one by one, into the yard, their only view is that of a court-yard wall with a door in it. Over the door is the word 'Gallows'. A good thing, you may think, that they cannot read? Lest they



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should, however, miss the significance of this English word, they can see over the wall the top of the scaffold, with three loops of rope passing through three pulleys on the cross-piece. Twelve months, thirteen months, fourteen months . . . Ordinary, Communist . . . Ordinary Courts, Special Tribunals . . . Justice, Law . . . Humanity, Civilisation!

**(2) A Bridge in Bombay**

Have you seen—a common sight in India—a nest of wild bees disfiguring the arch of some beautiful old building? Or the ugly black mark on the beautiful arch when the nest of wild bees has been burnt off?

Have you crossed a bridge in Bombay, and seen against the stone parapet, on the stone pavement, what looked like a nest of wild bees—a common sight in Bombay? And looked closer? And found it to be a nest of human beings? Bits of corrugated iron and sacking, and under them on the stone pavement, the home of a family—man and wife and children, clothes and cooking-pots; their only home in heat and cold, in drought and monsoon rains, in sickness and in health, in childbirth and in death, all in a nest on the bridge? Criminals, No! Beggars, No! They are men and women who stand upright and work and earn their 'wages'. This is all that society, civilisation, the free world for which the Americans will fight to the last European and the last Indian, gives them for their work—'to each according to his work'. And scores of thousands are slightly worse off; for they haven't even a bees' nest, and they sleep in the streets.

No one comes and burns the nest as if the inhabitants were bees! Should they be grateful for this? Or should we and they burn the nests of those who maintain this civilisation?

**(3) A Chawl in Bombay**

Let us visit a family in Bombay that has something more than a bees' nest on a bridge—a home for which it pays rent. This home is larger than the nest; it is 10ft. by 8ft.; the floor is of earth and cowdung, which the tenants lay and maintain at their own cost; the walls and roof of corrugated iron and sacking, letting in the wind and rain. No light. No cooking arrangements. No water laid on; there is standing water thirty yards away, shared with hundreds of others, and turned off for 19 hours a day. No lavatory save for a range of dilapidated places with broken-down doors, 40 yards away, shared with many hundreds of others. The rent is 4s. a week (tenant



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doing repairs). And it is so indispensable that 12 adults and five children share it as their only home.

Beggars, No! Criminals, No! They are workers, full-time textile workers, minimum wage 10s. 9d. per week, with ' dearness allowance ' of 19s. a week to meet the fearful rise in prices. Paying their union subscription (½d. a week). Upstanding, clean, cheerful, friendly, determined on a change in their conditions, in the structure of their country. Who wants to refuse them this change? The leaders of the ' free world ', I suppose.

These ' leaders of the free world ' in Washington would be hard put to show us anything worse, either in the slums of their own city or in their ' deep South '. And they, it seems, hope and expect that the dwellers in these places should provide them with cannon fodder to fight for ' freedom ' and Western Christianity against ' Russian Barbarism ' and ' the menace of Communism '!

## FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

### YANKEE 'DEMOCRACY'

Now I want to say, with the same frankness and sincerity that my American friends showed to me, that all this talk about American ' democracy ' is, in my humble opinion, complete humbug. ' Democracy '— in the land of the frame-up, the gun-man and the spy? ' Democracy ' in the land of Rockefeller and Morgan, of Pinkerton and Baldwin-Felts? ' Democracy '—in the land where Negro lynchings and the bludgeoning and murder of workmen striking for their rights have been a part of every-day life these many years? ' Democracy '—in the land where all the forces of the law, the State and police—the whole machinery of Government, legal and illegal—are openly and shamelessly at the beck and call of triumphant plutocracy in order to perpetuate the capitalist system and the exploitation of the working people? I submit that we must not be deluded by the mere *forms* of government; and that if we pierce through to the *facts* behind those forms we see that America is ruled by a capitalist *dictatorship*. America is the supreme example of the new Tsarism—the Tsarism of monopoly capitalism, the Tsarism of finance oligarchy.

From *Capital and Labour in U.S.A.*, by A. A. Purcell, M.P., February, 1926.



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# RE-MILITARISING WEST GERMANY AND JAPAN

R. PAGE ARNOT

NOTHING in the last five years has been such a shock to the British people as the re-arming of West Germany. On this or that aspect of foreign policy, on this or that step in the 'cold war' there has been uneasiness. As the international skies have darkened there have been grave doubts and questionings. But this re-militarisation of West Germany has come as a shock even to those who up till now have been aloof or indifferent to public events. There is no indifference here. The whole thing is too near, memories are too poignant. In every town we see the ruined buildings, the sites often still desolate. Too many a family was made to mourn the loss of life when Germany last had arms. The war was fought to destroy German militarism and Nazism. Now we are told West Germany is to be re-militarised. Re-militarisation means Nazis back again. Everyone feels this in their bones. Revival of German militarism and Nazism means the danger of war is at once made ten-fold greater. Small wonder that it has come as a shock to the British people.

The first world war, which began with the three allies (Britain, France and Russia) against the German coalition, and resulted in the defeat and disarmament of Germany, ended in 1918. It took seven years thereafter to Locarno, when Britain and France sought to bring Germany into a war alliance ('the solidarity of Christian civilisation') against the people of Soviet Russia; and did bring Germany into the League of Nations from which the U.S.S.R. was still excluded—as the Peoples' Republic of China is today excluded from the United Nations. It took fourteen years till all was ready for the installation of Hitler, to be followed in two years by the Anglo-German Naval Treaty allowing Germany to build submarines, with the tacit understanding that these would be available in the Baltic Sea for use against the U.S.S.R. It took twenty-one years before a fully re-militarised and Nazified Germany was once more at war.

This time the process has been speedier. The second world war ended in 1945 in the defeat of Germany and Japan and with the three chief allies (Britain, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) in full agreement upon 'our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism, and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to



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disturb the peace of the world'.* For this purpose they were determined to 'disarm and disband all German armed forces' and to 'remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public offices and from the cultural and economic life of the German people'.* And so too with the agreement of the Conference of Berlin (Potsdam) whose purpose was 'to carry out the Crimea declaration on Germany'.

This time it took only a matter of months before the process was visible. It took less than eighteen months to the open declaration of hostility in the announcement of the Truman Doctrine against Communism and the U.S.S.R. It has taken only a few years this time till Britain and U.S.A. are bringing in West Germans re-militarised, which means the Nazis back again. Six years! Nay, not so much, not six!

This is the grand outcome of the Marshall 'Plan', the Western Union, the Atlantic War Pact and all the other fetters by which the Labour Government, operating a Tory foreign policy, tied this country hand and foot to Yankee imperialism.

With the Yankees hustling them on to war, they have broken their own pledged words, the declared policy of the Labour movement, and the treaty obligations of this country. As late as mid-September the Foreign Secretary's utterances were still against re-arming Germany. In its Easter, 1950, Conference at Yarmouth the Co-operative Party whose decisions are subject to the Co-operative Union with a membership of over ten millions had passed a resolution:

> This Conference pledges itself to oppose any system of German re-armament because a Germany re-armed would inevitably mean a third world war, which is unthinkable, and its consequences would mean the end of all that we hold dear.
>
> The policy of the Co-operative movement should be to so build and strengthen the international co-operative movement and to insist that it allies itself with the international trade union organisation in order to bring about a closer unity of the peoples of the world.

All that has been thrown overboard. In less than sixteen weeks the swing-round of the satellite British Government was completed. When Dean Acheson met Bevin and the French Foreign Minister at New York in September it did not take him long—as far as Bevin was concerned. Acheson by this time knew his bull-frog. Just as the

*The Crimea Conference (Yalta) and the Tripartite Conference of Berlin (Potsdam)—see *Labour Monthly*, March and September, 1945.



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previous month the British Government, having got House of Commons sanction for £100,000,000 addition to armaments then on receipt of a ' request ' from the U.S.A. announced a three year armament expenditure of £3,600,000,000 without any reference to parliament, so now Acheson easily got what he wanted. On September 19 at New York, re-militarisation of West Germany was tentatively announced.* The announcement was so serious that on October 19 the Soviet Government sent to each of the three powers a note which in form was a reply in rebuttal of allegations that the People's Police of the German Democratic Republic (organised and equipped under ' Directive No. 16 of the Control Council of November 6, 1945 '), had the character of an army, and stating that these unfounded assertions must have been made as a cover-up for the steps taken in West Germany for the establishment of an army. The Note stated that the Soviet Government ' will not acquiesce ' in such measures ' aimed at reviving the German Regular Army in Western Germany '. On October 20/21 the U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister Molotov consulted at Prague with the Foreign Ministers of the Central and East European powers that were most affected. The eight Powers then published a declaration concerning ' the decisions of the New York three-power conference on the re-militarisation of Western Germany '. This Prague declaration made proposals on the speediest peace settlement for Germany and on carrying out ' the demilitarisation of Germany in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement '. Thus a stage had been reached at which the U.S.A. and Britain were proposing re-arming of West Germany while U.S.S.R. and seven associates at Prague were proposing the completion of disarming of Germany.

Then the Soviet Government took a further step. On November 3 it sent a note proposing ' that the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the United States, Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. meet to consider the question of implementing the Potsdam Agreement on the demilitarisation of Germany ', and expressed the hope of a reply ' in the near future '. When the contents of this Note were made public, it was immediately realised that here was a chance offered to reach an agreement that would slow down the drive to war and might ensure the maintenance of peace. Even in the House of Lords, the view was voiced (and by the Tory leader Lord Cranborne) that this chance should be seized. What happened? Week after week passed by without a reply, while behind the scenes, U.S.A.

*It was some weeks later before the French would agree, under what had become *joint pressure* from Acheson and his tame bull-frog.



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was rushing forward its schemes for re-militarisation of West Germany. The Soviet Government then sent a further Note, on December 15, in which it drew attention to the fact that 'a direct military alliance is being prepared by the Government of Great Britain' with the Government of Adenauer in Western Germany, and that 'this circumstance creates a serious threat to peace'. Then came the grave warning: 'such a position of the Government of Great Britain is not only contrary to the Potsdam Agreement on the demilitarisation of Germany, but is in manifest contradiction to the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of May 26, 1942'.* Therefore, the Soviet Note concluded with the following warning paragraphs:

> Contrary to the precisely defined undertakings of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, and in particular contrary to the above-cited Article 7 of this Treaty, Great Britain, together with the U.S.A., has acted as an organiser of the so-called Western Union and the North Atlantic grouping of Powers, directed against the U.S.S.R. and other peace-loving States. At the present time the aggressive nature of both these groupings is emphasised by the fact of the inclusion of Western Germany, headed by the *revanchist* Adenauer, both in the Western Union and in the North Atlantic grouping.
>
> It is quite clear that the aforesaid grouping of the Government of Great Britain with respect to the restoration of the German Army in the Western part of Germany is incompatible with the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, undermining its foundations and significance.
>
> The Soviet Government has already drawn attention to the fact that the Government of Great Britain had even earlier embarked on the course of violating and undermining the Anglo-Soviet Treaty. At the present time the Soviet Government considers it necessary especially to declare that the entire responsibility for the situation created rests with the Government of Great Britain.

Thus the most serious and urgent warnings had been uttered. To the Soviet Note of December 15 the answer was given not in words but in the formal decision of December 19 by the Atlantic Powers in their Brussels meeting to carry through the re-militarisation of West Germany. Only then was it permitted to the British Government to respond to the Soviet Note of November 3: its reply, December 22, blamed the Soviet Government for the international tension and insisted that any four-ministers' meeting must take up wider questions, which would have to be discussed by a preliminary agenda committee. To this the Soviet Government promptly replied on

*Article 7 reads: 'Each High Contracting Party undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against the other High Contracting Party'.



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December 30 with an acceptance of the formal proposals while it rebutted the arguments in the British Note and drew attention to the delay in the calling of the Foreign Ministers' Council. To this Soviet Note by January 19 no reply had been sent, but the British representatives in West Germany have been pushing ahead with the re-militarisation, which at once brings up the Nazi officers once more. Thus in exactly three months, from September 19 to December 19, the U.S.A. rushed its satellites into re-arming West Germany, with the consequent resurgence of Nazism, and rode rough-shod over all other considerations, undermining the treaties, breaking the solemn agreements and making a mockery of the previously declared policies of the Labour movement. The British Government, for its part, obediently carried out all that was required of it by the U.S.A. Attlee's publicly staged visit to Truman at Washington was the token of surrender of British interests that went even beyond the re-militarisation of West Germany.

How the British people feel about this can be evidenced, not from press or parliament, but from one miner's reply to Attlee's encyclical letter, asking each of them to work harder. It runs:

> My dear Prime Minister,—As a brother Socialist I humbly and respectfully reply forthwith to your letter of January 11. In it you make an appeal to me to work harder to produce more coal. How enthusiastically I could have responded had our present policy been aligned with the other Socialist countries in peaceful constructive endeavour.
>
> Instead, all you have to offer me is an alliance with the Yankee capitalists, notorious through the atrocities that they have committed against the Korean workers, and the Nazi fiends who bear responsibility for the murder of many fine mates of mine during the late war.
>
> I honestly declare, Sir, that the will to work for my country is within me, but in such company the zest is lacking.

Are the Yankee capitalists satisfied? No, there was more to come. The opening weeks of the New Year were at once a demonstration of what stripes they have laid upon us and what rods they have still in pickle. Truman's Addresses to Congress, with their Hitler-like ranting on Communism, and the multiplied U.S. war budget, were followed by the visit of General Eisenhower, now in supreme command over the main British armed forces and the announcement that Britain's munition industries will be commanded by a Yankee capitalist called Mr. Herod. Meantime General MacArthur in his New Year Message announced that it was time to re-militarise Japan. He has already laid the basis for this in his creation last



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summer of a 'national police reserve' of 75,000 men to officer whom the ban was lifted on the Japanese counterpart of the Nazi officers. But to complete his purpose the long-delayed peace treaty (delayed by American infringement of the original solemn agreement that the draft would be prepared by U.S.A., Britain, China and the U.S.S.R.) has now become requisite. It will not be long before the formal announcement that Japan, too, is to be re-militarised, with, necessarily, the Japanese militarists back in the saddle. It is for this purpose that John Foster Dulles, who last was seen in June, 1950, in Korea egging on Syngman Rhee to attack the Korean people, is now sent to Tokyo to begin negotiations for a Peace Treaty which will include Japanese re-armament. For this is now regarded as a necessity by American imperialism, to offset the defeats and difficulties encountered in the Far East.

It is only a few years since Yankee imperialism with its atom-diplomacy was sure of the main part of Asia, with Arabia torn from British influences, with India opened up to its trade and capital investment, with the Far East either occupied as Japan, or in the hands of its puppets such as Chiang Kai-shek in China and Quirino in the Philippines. But then all its schemes went awry. From that day in July, 1946, when the American equipped armies of Chiang Kai-shek went out on the last of his many campaigns to exterminate the 'Communist bandits' to the utter defeat of Chiang's armies three years later, the American cause did not prosper. Against forces vastly superior in numbers and equipment, the Chinese Revolution triumphed. Nigh one quarter of mankind entered on the road to peace, freedom and prosperity with Socialism as its more distant, but firmly set, goal. Yankee imperialism suffered its most serious set-back. For a time some thought this situation would be accepted, particularly when Truman uttered his speech in January, 1950, proclaiming that the U.S.A. had no desire to intervene on Chinese territory and had no designs on Taiwan (Formosa). This was but the lull before a renewal, and on a greater scale, of the most savage attack. The letting loose of the smaller puppet, Syngman Rhee, to attack in Korea was accompanied by an act of open aggression in Taiwan (Formosa) in the last week of June, 1950. But things did not go in Korea as the Americans wished, and when in November, in spite of the most explicit diplomatic warnings from the Chinese Peoples' Republic they first crossed the 38th Parallel and then approached the Chinese frontier beyond which they had already committed many acts of aggression with bombing aero-



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planes, they received another set-back at the hands of the Korean People's Army and numerous Chinese volunteers. The great people of China were now thoroughly aroused by the repeated aggressions and realised that the American plan was to follow up the open aggression on Formosa by making Korea a jumping-off ground for an attack upon China. This is why the Yankees choose this moment to re-arm Japan under its old militarist leaders.

Re-arming West Germany and re-arming Japan, revival of the Nazis and their Japanese counterparts, what a mockery it makes of all the lives lost in the fight against Fascism, for democracy and a lasting peace. Within the Labour Party and within the trade union movement the question is arising, how is it possible that this has been done by a Labour Government? How is it possible that a man like Shinwell could continue to hold office as Minister of Defence in which he will have to share the responsibility for rebuilding militarism and Nazism?

How is it that the 'left' Aneurin Bevan is now become the man chosen to direct the workers out of housing and into war industry and war? Those who ask these questions have forgotten the past record of right-wing Labour leaders; that it was Ramsay MacDonald who took the first favourable steps toward the building up of the Nazi power; and that when MacDonald left the Labour Party that MacDonaldism remained. So long as the leaders are dominant, the Labour movement can expect more MacDonaldism.

But this lesson is beginning to be learned. People of this country, faced with re-arming West Germany which means the resurgence of Nazism, and the re-arming of Japan, are learning how low Britain has been brought by the right-wing Labour leaders in their subservience to the U.S.A. They are realising that the fight for Britain's independence from Yankee domination has become an essential part of the struggle for peace.

That struggle for peace is growing stronger. But the armament race with which Britain is now burdened is also a race between peace and war. Re-militarisation of West Germany and Japan is the sign that the hour has come for the people themselves and above all the working class, to assert its will to peace in such a manner that the scheme for dragging this country into war at the heels of the U.S.A. will be brought to an end. To overcome this imminent war danger is the issue of life and death for the British people.



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*Folk Artist: Lumbering.*

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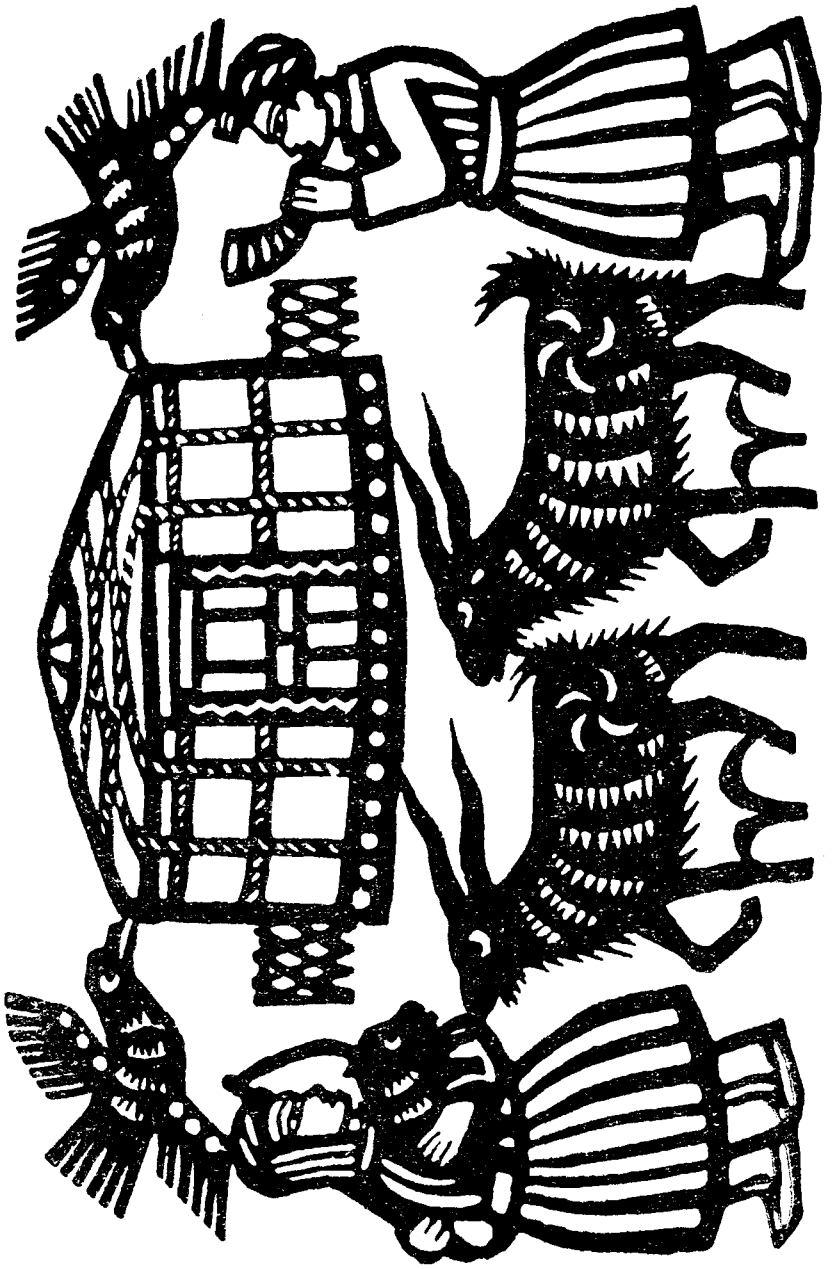

*Folk Artist: Tending the Herd.*

From *Contemporary Chinese Woodcuts*, reviewed on Page 96

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# W. H. ANDREWS

**1870 - 1950**

*W. H. Andrews, who died at Capetown on December 26, 1950, in his 81st year, was one of the oldest supporters and contributors of* LABOUR MONTHLY. *He was the foremost builder of the working class movement in South Africa.*

*Born at Leiston, Suffolk, on April 20, 1870, a member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (now A.E.U.) since 1890, he worked at first in Birmingham and London whence in 1894 he emigrated to South Africa. In 1904 he was elected South Africa organiser of the A.S.E., in 1912 was elected one of the half-dozen Labour Members of the parliament of the Union of South Africa and became Chairman of the South African Labour Party. When that party in 1914-18 betrayed the principles of socialism, he joined in forming in 1915 the Socialist League whose monthly 'The International' held to the Marxist standpoint on war more steadfastly and clearly than any other journal in the English-speaking countries. From this grew the Communist Party of South Africa of which he was the first Secretary and later for many years its Chairman. He was a leader in the great strikes and revolt on the Witwatersrand in 1913 and 1922, bloodily suppressed by Jan Smuts. He was the secretary for many years of the South African T.U.C. More and more he fought for the black and coloured workers against the slaveowning outlook of the governments headed by Smuts, Hertzog and Malan.*

*In 1940 he wrote for* LABOUR MONTHLY *a pamphlet on 'The Nazi Danger in South Africa'.*

*Throughout his life Bill Andrews fought for trade unionism, and led a struggle for the unity of all the workers, black and coloured, Dutch and English, the only basis for their common emancipation and the victory of Socialism.*

*R.P.A.*



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# SOCIALISM AND STEEL

JOHN EATON

'We *must* have a bit of a fight, but I don't care about going on long', said Tweedledum.

'What's the time now?'

Tweedledee looked at his watch, and said 'Half past four'.

'Let's fight till six, and then have dinner', said Tweedledum.

(from *Alice through the Looking-Glass.*)

WHAT the fight over their rattle was for Tweedledum and Tweedledee, the nationalisation of steel has become for Churchill and Attlee. Every so often the Labour Ministers and the Tories have a good set to about steel. The latest brush was in the foreign affairs debate on December 14 when, to quote *The Times,*

> Suddenly towards the end of his speech, Mr. Churchill switched to steel nationalisation and, before he had finished, the gathering storm which he had stirred among some Labour members broke in a barrage of tumult about his head.

The report concludes with the comment that Mr. Churchill 'seemed little incommoded by the unhappy affair'.

There are undoubtedly class issues of profound importance to be fought out round the future of the steel industry, but the point is that it is not about these that Attlee and Churchill are contesting. The political posture of the Tories as the implacable enemies of State bureaucracy and that of Attlee and Morrison as the standard-bearers of the British type of socialism both hide the fact that though Vesting Day comes—as it is due to on February 15—and the provisions of the Steel Act are implemented, the domination of the monopoly capitalists over the steel industry and over the rest of British industry remains as before. The monopoly capitalists are well aware that there are forms of nationalisation that can be accepted and used by them. In certain circumstances and provided that the matter is handled in the way they want, they will certainly consider nationalisation to be desirable. Here for example are the views of a leading representative of big business, Lord Brand, director of Times Publishing Co., Lloyds Bank, North British and Mercantile Insurance, representative of Treasury in Washington 1944-46. Writing on Nationalisation in the Lloyds Bank Review for April, 1950, he says:

> Government ownership may be efficient in standardised public utilities, where it can create a monopoly that it would forbid to others. Moreover,



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there may be cases, such as coal, where relations have become hopelessly embittered between the companies and the men.

Capitalist industry must have coal, power, transport. Without these services the activities from which it gets its profits are hampered. Chaotic conditions in these industries can damage the interests of the monopoly capitalists themselves; on the other hand cheap basic services reduce costs and enlarge profits.

I should (continues Lord Brand) define very broadly the Government's main duty to be to maintain firm the framework within which the bees are to make and store their honey, rather than to try to make the honey themselves.

Advantages that nationalisation of 'common service' industries brings to the capitalists may include the following:

(1) Cheaper supplies. Transport and fuel and power costs are, for example, lower in Britain than in other capitalist countries in Europe and with the exception of coal, have since the war risen less in price than most other commodities. Coal prices though they have risen considerably are less than private owners would charge. (The fact that export prices are higher than home market prices is evidence for this.) This means lower costs and more profits in much the same way as monopolies make extra profits by buying raw materials at sub-market prices from sources under their own control and domination.

(2) Re-equipment of out-of-date plants and other expenditures necessary to supply cheap basic services can be carried through by the State without risk to private capital.

(3) The State can be used to hold back the workers' demands for better conditions where the private owners would fail. (Lord Brand—see above—considered the nationalisation of coal necessary because 'relations between the companies and men had become hopelessly embittered').

As the general crisis of capitalism deepens, the monopoly capitalists more and more turn to the State to achieve their purposes and to protect their interests. On the one hand economic difficulties drive them to more drastic methods of bringing industry under their control; on the other hand the awakening political consciousness of the people forces the monopoly capitalists to camouflage their manœuvres by adopting pseudo-socialist forms of operation. Thus the monopoly capitalists both use and shelter behind the state apparatus. They use it to subordinate wide sections of industry to their control. They shelter behind it so as to carry through in its



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name actions for which the people would never stand if carried out in the name of private profit.

In the case of steel the use of the State to advance the interests of the biggest monopolies is no new thing. The State was midwife to the steel ring itself. The British Iron and Steel Federation, formed in 1934, had been fostered and, indeed, its original constitution drafted by the Import Duties Advisory Committee which was set up by the 'National' Government in 1932 under the chairmanship of Lord May (author of the 'May Report' which in 1931 recommended slashing cuts in social services and other Government expenditure). Shortly after formation the B.I.S.F. entered into negotiations with the European Steel Cartel, in which the Nazi magnates played a prominent rôle, and reached agreement in July, 1935. 'The securing of this agreement', wrote *The Times* (14.6.38), 'was greatly facilitated by the British Government's tariff policy, which was consciously adapted to the needs of the Conference table'. In fact, the Government bluntly used the threat and temporary imposition of a fifty per cent. tariff which was reduced only when the European Cartel agreed to reduce its quota for imports into Britain from 750,000 to 525,000 tons a year. (Previously a $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. tariff had failed to protect the British market from European rivals. The whole story is well told in *Steel—The Facts* by Henry Owen (Lawrence and Wishart, 1946). The steel ring became in the 1930s notorious for its reluctance to expand capacity. Apparent in all its actions was an anxiety to protect the capital tied up in the existing plants. Writing to *The Times* (17.3.34) Mr. Summers, himself a leading steelmaker, criticised the industry's schemes as making it their main object 'to bolster up redundant and obsolete plant and by rings and quotas to put up the cost to the consumer'.

The obsessions that beset the finance capitalists' plans in the 1930s were the outcome of events in the 1920s. World War I was followed by an uncontrolled boom. Amalgamations and the acquisition of subsidiary firms at inflated values were financed by loans which as prices mounted were rapidly dissipated. The subsequent slump left the industry with capital which in money terms was grossly inflated and—the inevitable price of this orgy of inflation—heavy indebtedness to the banks. The dominating interest that the banks had consequently acquired hastened centralised control of the industry under a single monopoly set on extracting from the existing assets the maximum possible profits. The highly restrictive Government-sponsored cartel of the thirties was the ugly brood



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that was spawned from the bank loans so liberally inseminated in the twenties.

During the war the steel monopoly became the Steel Control, whose staff was, to quote the Select Committee on National Expenditure, 'essentially the personnel of the Iron and Steel Federation in Government uniform'. In the post-war years the State control of the steel industry was, broadly speaking, a modified and adapted form of the wartime control. It was something of a makeshift which the capitalists were ready to recognise must give place to more permanent measures for reorganisation. Moreover, wide sections of the capitalist class feared the possibility of a powerful steel monopoly enriching itself at their expense. This had happened before World War II at which time—22.8.37—Lord Nuffield, for example, gave vent to his feelings about the set-up at Steel House as follows: 'A perfect ramp, big cigars and nothing to do'. This is the background against which the Steel Act needs to be viewed.

The steel nationalisation is certainly the most timid of the nationalisations to date. It shows exceptional respect for private property not only in the matter of compensation, but also in leaving quite unchanged the structure that the industry had assumed under private ownership. Whereas the organisation under the Coal Board and the British Electricity Authority introduced a new structure into their industries and imposed a regionalised and unified administration whose lines of demarcation cut through the old pattern of the industry as it had been under private ownership, the Steel Act does no more than inscribe the name of the Iron and Steel Corporation in the place of the former shareholders. The hundred-odd firms selected for nationalisation are those engaged on a substantial scale in the working and getting of iron ore, the smelting of iron ore, the production of ingots and the rolling of steel. The Iron and Steel Corporation is to become as it were a giant holding company to which firms engaged in the basic stages of steel production are subsidiaries. The Act will not, it must be stressed, take over the great steel trusts *in toto,* but only those of their subsidiaries engaged in the basic stages of steel production. For example, English Steel Corporation is taken over but not its parent companies, Vickers and Cammell Laird; Thomas Firth and John Brown, Ltd., but not John Brown, Ltd., and so forth.

The Iron and Steel Corporation is under the Act to be appointed by the Minister of Supply and to consist of not less than seven and not more than eleven members.

The Act gives the Minister of Supply power to lay down the



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general lines on which the Corporation should exercise its functions and to approve its development programme. The former shareholders in the nationalised companies will be compensated with British Iron and Steel Stock of equal value. Where the new stock replaces shares quoted on the Stock Exchange, the value will be either an average of 1948 or 1945 values whichever is the higher. The Corporation is required to see that its combined revenues meet 'outgoings properly chargeable to revenue account, taking one year with another'. However, if materials are imported at prices above British prices, the Treasury may pay a subsidy. The Corporation is expected to meet interest and repayments of principal on the B.I.S. Stock, which is, however, guaranteed by the Treasury and met in the first instance from the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom. The Corporation's reimbursements to the Treasury are to be 'at such rate . . . in such manner and over such period as the Treasury may, after consultation with the Minister, determine'. The Act also states that

> without prejudice to the Corporation's power to establish appropriate reserves for replacement or other purposes, the Corporation shall establish and maintain a general reserve . . . and the application of the moneys comprised therein shall be as the Corporation may determine. . . The purposes of the general reserve include the checking of undue fluctuations in the prices of products . . . and the financing of works . . . properly chargeable to capital.

In this 'general reserve' one seems to catch a family resemblance to the 'Central Stabilisation Fund' set up in 1937 by the pre-war steel monopoly to implement a policy of price discrimination including for example subsidies to reduce export prices.

An Act like this is clearly one that has been drafted with the most careful attention to the interests of the monopolies. In particular, it offers them the following advantages:

(i) They sell their antiquated and obsolete plant once and for all at boom prices and in return receive stock which come slump or boom is guaranteed by the Treasury.

(ii) The Treasury guarantee applies also to future investments in the industry and, if the big speculative profits will have gone, an absolutely safe outlet for surplus capital will remain.

(iii) The old dilemma of re-equipment is settled once and for all; the finance capitalists will no longer need when calculating the profits that might flow from new modern plants to set against them the loss of capital values that would result from the consequent elimination of their obsolete plant. With nationalisation, re-equip-



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ment will, as between the finance oligarchy and the Treasury, be 'Heads I win, tails you lose'. Only the taxpayer will stand to lose.

(iv) It might stop the rot that has been going on far too long in British steel production and puts British monopoly capitalism in a technically weak position in relation to its rivals, particularly the U.S.A. and Germany.

(v) The Act provides many possibilities of disguised subsidies to steel at State expense. If in this way low-priced steel is supplied, a wide range of industries will have lower costs and higher profits.

(vi) It might be useful to confront the 'Schuman Plan'—the new American-sponsored project for a super-cartel of Europe's steel and coal industries—with a unified industry backed by the economic and political resources of the State.*

Despite these very considerable advantages the present tactic of the monopoly capitalists is still one of opposition to the Act. Apart from the political considerations, already referred to, that compel a gesture of opposition, the monopoly capitalists would, in the case of steel, prefer to stop short of nationalisation for the following reasons:

(i) Arms production means vast profits for steel firms and the mountains of profits in the present boom seem a valley compared to the inflated values of which the profiteers dream as arms production gathers momentum.

(ii) Steel production is closely intertwined with manufacturing industry generally. There are many groupings of monopoly capitalists whose interests lie partly in steel and partly elsewhere. Nationalisation of steel would therefore damage the interests of such capitalists who wish themselves to control the sources from which they draw raw materials.

(iii) The *principle* of steel nationalisation is dangerous. The lines that divide off other nationalised industries can be fairly clearly drawn. Transport, the public utilities, even coal can be nationalised and the frontiers of the capitalist hinterland remain intact. The nationalisation of steel, however, would be different; it would affect the main area of profit-making capitalist industry.

Steel, says Lord Brand (writing in Lloyds Bank Review, April, 1949), is not the only important strategical article, nor is it the only article important for general planning purposes. If it is true that it would be dangerous from these two aspects to leave steel un-nationalised, then the same must be true of many other industries. Moreover, if these arguments

*A British steel magnate asked to comment on the Schuman Plan is alleged to have replied 'Tell me my quota and then I'll tell you my views'.



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hold water, Russia must enjoy an immense strategical advantage over both the U.S. and ourselves, for having nationalised everything, she avoids all the weaknesses Sir Stafford Cripps fears.

It may be theoretically demonstrated that the nationalisation of the land would have benefited capitalist interests at the expense of the landowning classes. However, whenever capitalism has come to power, it has shrunk from revolutionary land reforms, because the repercussions of such reforms would imperil the capitalists' own monopoly in the means of production. Fears stiffen capitalist opposition to the nationalisation of an industry that holds—as steel does—a central place in the production system of modern capitalism. The alternative policy to nationalisation as stated in Eden's speech in the House of Commons on September 19 was 'to exercise control or supervision over the iron and steel industry, that is to say over the whole production of the various iron and steel products, by a public board which is independent of ownership and which includes individuals drawn from management, Labour and consumers'. Churchill in his speech suggested that the Iron and Steel Federation would agree to this Board having powers (which the Steel Board set up in 1946 did not have) to enforce or itself carry through investment and development schemes. This, he claimed, would bring the Tory policy completely into line with the doctrines on public control of industry which Mr. Lincoln Evans put before the Trades Union Congress on behalf of the General Council. Mr. Lincoln Evans's report advised against further nationalisation schemes and suggested that the movement should satisfy itself with alternative methods of control such as 'the statutory Board of Control'. On this the *Economist* had the following to say:

> The biggest surprise in the document is its selection of the statutory Board of Control as 'an alternative method of public control over public industry which deserves further consideration'; the Iron and Steel Board, now deceased, is bravely quoted as an example. . . Can it be that the T.U.C. and the British Iron and Steel Federation are not, after all, so far apart in their views? (26.8.50.)

Attlee and Morrison, however, have their own reasons for pressing ahead with nationalisation. Although the capitalist-minded leaders of the Labour Party are doing all they can to choke their membership off further nationalisation ('Labour and the New Society', Mr. Lincoln Evans's report to the T.U.C. and Mr. Morrison's speech at Perth on June 8, 1950, all point to this), any too blatant repudiation of the undertakings given in 1945 in 'Let Us Face the Future' would cause difficulties with a rank and file that already shows signs of restiveness. 'Events', says the *Economist*,



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> have forced the Government and the Opposition so close together in matters of foreign policy and defence that the Government seems to have become alarmed and to have decided that a strictly Party gesture was needed in order to console its more depressed or restive members. . . What can the Government's purpose have been, if not to stir up a party fight at all costs? (16.9.50).

The *Economist* makes further comment that there is

> a general opinion in the country . . . that the Labour Party is better able to carry through a rearmament programme without finding itself in grave industrial difficulties. *(Ibid.)*

Preparation for war is the second reason that makes Attlee anxious to go ahead with steel nationalisation—it gives him an argument with which to answer the Labour Movement's attack on those who make profit out of war. ' Steel ', he will be able to say, ' is the main raw material of war and nationalisation will prevent profiteering there '.

But the Steel Act is drafted, it seems, with all eventualities in mind, since it nationalises the industry in such a way as to help the Tories denationalise if the opportunity for so doing presents itself. ' Mr. Churchill ', writes the *Economist* (23.9.50), ' reiterated on Tuesday the Opposition's pledge to repeal the Act " if we should obtain the responsibility and the power in any future which it is possible to foresee", before or after the vesting date. With the parties balanced as they are today this is not an idle pledge. It could involve the recall of Iron and Steel Stock and the return to shareholders of the title in their shares—reasonably simple operation, provided . . . the corporation had not been active in the interim in reshuffling the assets of its companies '. For all the Tory threats, it is quite possible that the monopoly capitalists will not wish to de-nationalise. What they do will depend upon the circumstances in which they find themselves. One thing, however, remains clear, namely, that the differences between the Tory proposal of a Steel Board and Attlee's Steel Act are only differences of degree, differences of political tactics. The Tories have fought rearguard actions against State ownership in order that at every stage they might extract every possible concession in favour of capitalist interests; and, to be sure, they and the Labour Ministers well understand the importance of demonstrative disagreement over lesser matters as a means of obscuring their fundamental agreement over matters that touch the class power of the capitalists.

The Tory plan for steel and the Steel Act are variant forms of a monopoly capitalist policy for steel. There is nothing socialist about either of them.



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# CONCERNING PRACTICE

## On the Connection between Cognition and Practice—the Connection between Knowledge and Deeds

MAO TSE-TUNG

*This philosophical work was written in 1937. In the notes of the Chinese editor the following statement appears:*

*'There were at one time devotees of dogmatism in the Communist Party of China who rejected the experience of the Chinese Revolution, denied the truth that "Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action", and scared people with isolated words and phrases torn out of the text of Marxist books. On the other hand, there were followers of empiricism who clung to their own limited experience, did not understand the importance of theory for revolutionary practice, did not see the situation as a whole, although they worked zealously but blindly. The ideological mistakes, in particular the views of the dogmatists who clothed themselves in the toga of Marxism-Leninism, did tremendous harm to the Chinese Revolution in 1931-34. It was precisely to expose, from the position of the Marxist theory of cognition, the subjectivist mistakes of the supporters of dogmatism and empiricism—in the first place of dogmatism—that Mao Tse-tung's work was written'.*

*The translation uses the word 'knowledge' in several circumstances where the available (Russian) text uses the word 'cognition'. Ed., L.M.*

PRE-MARXIST Materialism considered questions of cognition divorced from human society, divorced from the historical development of mankind and hence could not understand the inter-dependent connection of knowledge with social practice, i.e., the inter-dependent connection of knowledge with production and the class struggle.

Above all Marxists consider that productive activity is the most fundamental practical activity, determining every other activity.

People are in the main dependent for their knowledge on material productive activity, gradually gain understanding of the phenomena of nature, the character of nature, the laws of nature and the relations between man and nature; at the same time, it is through pro-



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ductive activity that they also gradually come to understand to a various extent definite mutual relations between people. All this knowledge cannot be gained divorced from productive activity.

In classless society, in the joint efforts of each person, acting as a member of society, together with the remaining members of the society, definite productive relations were established and productive activity was carried out directed towards solving the problems of the material life of people. In various class societies, definite productive relations are also established in various forms between the members of the various class societies, and productive activity is carried out directed towards solving the problems of the material life of people. This is the basic source of the development of human cognition.

The social practice of people is not limited to productive activity alone, but has also many other forms: the class struggle, political life, activity in the spheres of science and art, in brief, people take part in all spheres of social practical life.

Hence in the process of their cognition human beings get to understand, besides material life, various relations between people in the process of political and cultural life (closely connected with material life). An especially profound influence on the development of human cognition is exerted by various forms of the class struggle. In class society each person occupies a definite class position and every ideology has a class stamp.

Marxists consider that productive activity in human society develops step by step from the lowest stages to the highest, hence human knowledge in its turn develops step by step, both as regards the world of nature and as regards society, from the lowest stages to the highest, i.e., from the simple to the complex, from the one-sided to the many-sided. During a very prolonged historical period people could only understand the history of society one-sidedly; this arose, on the one hand, from the egoistic views of the exploiting classes, which constantly distorted the history of society and, on the other hand, from the narrow scale of production, which limited people's horizons. A comprehensive historical understanding by people of the evolutionary history of society and the transformation of knowledge about society into a science (which is possible only at a high level of development of the productive forces, when together with big industry the modern proletariat makes its appearance)—this is Marxist science.

Marxists consider that only the social practice of people can be



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the true criterion of human knowledge of the world surrounding us. The practical situation is such that only in the process of social practice (in the process of material production, class struggle, scientific experiments) can human knowledge be confirmed by obtaining the results expected from it. If people endeavour to achieve successes in work, i.e., to obtain the expected results, then they must without fail bring their ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective world surrounding us, otherwise they will suffer defeat in practice. After a defeat people draw lessons from the failure itself, alter their ideas and bring them into correspondence with the laws of the world surrounding us, thus converting defeat into victory; so that it is said 'defeat is the mother of success' and 'one failure—one science', which also expresses this truth.

The theory of knowledge of dialectical materialism puts practice in the first place, considering that people's cognitions must not in the least degree be divorced from practice, waging a struggle against all erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice and permit a divorce between knowledge and practice. Lenin said: 'Practice is higher than (theoretical) cognition, for it has the merit not only of universality but also of immediate reality'.*

Marxist philosophy—dialectical materialism—has two most outstanding features. The first is its class character, the open recognition that dialectical materialism serves the proletariat; the second is its practice, the assertion of the inter-dependence of theory and practice and also that the basis of theory is practice and that in its turn theory serves practice. The truth of knowledge or theories is not determined in dependence on the kind of subjective sensations but in dependence on what are the results of objective social practice. The criterion of truth can only be social practice. The viewpoint of practice must be the first and basic viewpoint of the theory of cognition of dialectical materialism.

In what way does human knowledge arise from practice and serve practice anew? To understand this it suffices to become acquainted with the process of development of cognitions.

Originally people in the process of practice saw at first merely separate aspects of the phenomena of individual things in the process of their development, they saw separate aspects of things, they saw the external connection between separate things. For instance, persons who travelled to Yenan for investigation in the first day or

*V. I. Lenin. Philosophical Notebooks, Russian edition, p. 185.



cf. the subjective language : paucity of general terms

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two saw the locality, the streets and houses, made contact with a number of persons, took part in receptions, soirées and meetings, listened to various utterances and read various documents—all these are the phenomena of things, separate aspects of things and the external connection between these things.

This is called the emotional stage of knowledge, i.e., the stage of sensations and impressions. It means that the various things in Yenan acted on the sense organs of the members of the investigating group, evoked sensations in them and gave rise in their consciousness to a series of impressions and a general external connection between these impressions—such is the first stage of cognition. At this stage people are not yet able to create profound concepts and to draw conclusions in accordance with logic.

The continuation of social practice evokes in the practice of people a manifold repetition of things which are sensed by them and which produce an impression on them, hence a leap takes place in the human mind, a concept arises in the process of cognition. The concept in itself reflects already not only the appearance of things, separate aspects of things, their external connection, but constitutes mastery of the essence of things, the common character of things, the internal connection of things.

Concept and sensation are not only quantitatively but also qualitatively different. Further development in this direction, the application of the methods of judgment and deduction, can lead to conclusions in accordance with logic.

That which is described in the *Tale of Three Kingdoms*: 'you contract your brows and thoughts arise in the heart' or, as we frequently say: 'let me think', that is just the moment of man's application of concepts in the mind for judgment and conclusions. This is the second stage of knowledge. The members of the investigating group who have travelled to us, having gathered various materials and having 'reflected' on them, could pronounce such a judgment as the following: 'The policy of the anti-Japanese, national united front, pursued by the Communist Party, is consistent, sincere and real'. If, after pronouncing this judgment, they also actually stand for solidarity and national salvation, then they could further draw the following conclusion: 'The anti-Japanese national united front can be crowned with success'.

This stage of concept, judgment and inference constitutes in the general process of human knowledge of things a still more important stage, the stage of rational knowledge. The real task of



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cognition consists in reaching by thought through sensation a gradual elucidation of the internal contradictions of objectively existing things, an elucidation of their laws, of the internal connection between this or that process, i.e., in reaching logical cognition. We repeat: logical cognition is distinguished from sensuous (emotional) cognition in that the latter grasps separate aspects of a phenomenon, the external connection between things, whereas logical cognition, which is a tremendous step forward, grasps the universality, the essence and inner connection between things, leads to the discovery of the inner contradictions of the surrounding world and hence can master the development of the surrounding world in all its totality and with its many-sided inner connections.

Such a dialectical-materialist theory of the process of development of cognition, based on practice and on the movement from simple to complex, was not put forward by anyone prior to Marxism. Marxist materialism for the first time correctly solved this question, demonstrated materialistically and dialectically the movement of the deepening of cognitions, demonstrated the progressive movement from sense impressions to rational cognition of people in their complex and continually repeated practice of production and the class struggle. Lenin said: 'The abstraction of matter, of a law of nature, the abstraction of *value,* etc., in a word all scientific (correct, serious, not nonsensical) abstractions reflect nature more deeply, more truly, more *fully* '.*

Marxism-Leninism considers that the specific feature of the two stages in the process of cognition is that at the lower stage cognition is expressed in sensations whereas at the higher stage cognition is expressed in logic, each stage, however, being a stage in the single process of cognition. Sensation (emotionality) and rationality are different in character, but they are mutually inseparable and are united on the basis of practice.

Our practice testifies that things sensed cannot be immediately understood by us and that only things which are understood can be still more profoundly sensed. Sensation can decide only the question of phenomena, but the question of essence is decided only by the understanding. The solution of these questions cannot in the slightest degree be divorced from practice.

The knowledge of anything by anyone is impossible without contact with that thing, i.e., without his life (practice) in the circum-

*Lenin. Philosophical Notebooks, p. 146.



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stances of that thing. It is impossible to be cognisant in advance of the laws of capitalist society while one is living in feudal society, since capitalism has not yet appeared and the corresponding practice does not yet exist. Marxism could appear as the product only of capitalist society. In the epoch of free capitalism Marx could not in advance and concretely be cognisant of certain peculiar laws of the epoch of imperialism, since imperialism, as the highest stage of capitalism, had not yet arrived and there did not yet exist the corresponding practice; only Lenin and Stalin could undertake this task.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin could advance their theory, chiefly because, leaving their genius out of account, they participated personally in their time in the class struggle and the practice of scientific experiments; without this latter condition no genius could have led to success. The saying: 'Sutsais*, without crossing the threshold, can know about everything under the sun', was an empty phrase in technologically undeveloped ancient times, while in our technologically developed epoch, although realisable, yet the genuine experts are the people connected with practice under the sun; these people in their practice acquire 'knowledge', which by means of writing and technology falls into the hands of the 'Sutsais', after which the latter indirectly 'knows about everything under the sun'. For the direct cognition of any things, personal participation in the practical struggle connected with change in reality, with a change in the things, is essential; only this can lead to contact with the phenomena of the things, only personal participation in the practical struggle connected with change in reality makes it possible to reveal and understand the essence of the things.

Such is the path of cognition along which each person actually proceeds; there are people, however, who, deliberately striving for distortion, oppose this. The most ridiculous rôle is played here by so-called 'know-alls' who, having heard something from passers-by and not having understood half of what they have heard, pretend to be something 'unique under the sun'. It is just this that testifies to the incapacity of these people to define their knowledge. The question of knowledge is a question of science, which does not tolerate the slightest falsity or conceit and decisively demands exactly the opposite—an honest and modest attitude.

If you are trying to obtain knowledge you must take part in prac-

*Sutsais—first degree of learning in ancient China.



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tice, in changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear you must take it into your mouth and chew it well. If you want to understand the organisation and nature of the atom you must make physical and chemical experiments, change the atomic environment. If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution you should take part in a revolution.

All genuine knowledge is derived from direct experience. One cannot, however, directly experience all things, in fact a large part of knowledge is a product of indirect experience, such is all the knowledge of ancient epochs and foreign countries. This knowledge is a product of the direct experience of ancient peoples, and foreigners; if the direct experience of ancient peoples and foreigners is in accordance with the conditions of which Lenin spoke—of scientific abstraction, and is a scientific reflection of what objectively existed, then this knowledge is reliable, in the opposite case it may be unreliable.

Hence a person's knowledge is composed of two parts: direct and indirect experience. At the same time, that which is indirect experience for me remains direct experience for others. Consequently, when speaking of the totality of knowledge, it may be said that no kind of knowledge can be divorced from immediate experience. The source of all knowledge lies in the sensations of man's physical sense organs of the objectively existing world; he who denies this sensation, denies immediate experience, denies personal participation in the practice of changing reality, he is not a Marxist. This is the reason why the 'know-alls' are so ludicrous. The Chinese have an old saying: 'How can one capture tigers without going into the tiger's lair?' This saying is true for the practice of people, just as it is true for the theory of cognition. Cognition, divorced from practice, is unthinkable.

We shall cite some concrete examples to make clear the movement of dialectical-materialist cognition, arising on the basis of the practice of change in reality—the movement of the gradual deepening of knowledge.

In the early period of practice—the period of the smashing of machines and spontaneous struggle—the proletariat is, in its knowledge of capitalist society, only at the initial stage of cognition and cognises only separate aspects and the external connection of the various phenomena of capitalism. At that time the proletariat remains a so-called 'class in itself'.

When, however, the second period of the practice of the prole-



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tariat came—the period of conscious and organised economic struggle and of political struggle—when, with the help of the scientific methods of Marx and Engels, the varied experience gained in the prolonged struggle was summed up, when the Marxist theory which educated the proletariat was created and thus led the proletariat to an understanding of the essence of capitalist society, an understanding of the relations of exploitation of the social classes, an understanding of the historical tasks of the proletariat, then the proletariat became a 'class for itself'.

Similarly with the Chinese people's knowledge of imperialism. The first stage is that of external knowledge, manifested in the general struggle against foreigners at the time of the Taiping movement and at the time of the Boxer movement. Only the second stage was the stage of rational knowledge, when the various kinds of internal and external contradictions of imperialism were revealed, when the essence of the exploitation of the broad masses of China by imperialism in alliance with the Chinese compradores was revealed; this knowledge began only in the period of the 'movement of May 4'* in 1919.

*(To be continued)*


## 'LABOUR MONTHLY' PAMPHLETS
## 1951 SERIES

Together with the conclusion which will appear in the March issue, this will shortly appear as a pamphlet. Price 6d. (See back page). Order now.


*'Movement of May 4'—an anti-imperialist and primarily an anti-Japanese movement, initiated by the student demonstration of May 4, 1919, in Peking (ed.).



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# COMMUNICATION

To the Editor,

While we strive for the widest possible unity for peace, this does not mean a total suppression of our critical faculties. Nor should we gloss over warmongering because it is served up in a bottle labelled 'Peace'.

Dick Freeman's review of *Two Worlds in Focus* (National Peace Council) does precisely this. The strongest word of criticism used by him is 'ditherer', while at a bare minimum two of the contributors lead to the conclusion that the peaceful coexistence of the capitalist and Socialist worlds is impossible.

Wright W. Millar, while posing as being impartial, ends up with the suggestion that the Communists would always condemn 'new societies' not under their own leadership as 'aggressive', whatever the merits of these societies; a suggestion which, speaking bluntly, means that the Communists will always make war inevitable with non-Communists.

Professor D. M. MacKinnon succeeds in calling Communism 'cruel', an 'assault on conscience', 'cosmic impiety', as having 'no place for repentance', and as possessing a 'perverted idolatrous science'. The 'Christian' West is neatly absolved of all these sins, and it is hard to see where the Professor expresses a 'genuine' wish for Peace with such people. Who would?

On the press, Dorothy Warner paints a sweet tempered and tolerant British press—until finally exasperated by an unreasonable U.S.S.R., while John Lawrence paints a Soviet press bristling with misrepresentation of the West. This false contrast hardly contributes to the idea of the possibility, for long, of peaceful coexistence.

While the contributions of Kenneth Ingram, Michael Barratt Brown, Professor Hyman Levy, Olaf Stapledon show a real belief in the possibility of peaceful coexistence, the others, in varying degrees, inspire no such belief.

In the fight for peace we cannot afford to regard as friends those who, directly or indirectly, oppose the view that the peaceful coexistence of the two systems is possible.

PAT SLOAN.

*Our Reviewer writes:*—

I must disappoint Pat Sloan still further by saying that the one word in my review of which he approves—'ditherers', I did not in fact use. My own bad handwriting is to blame. What I in fact wrote was 'the importance rests not only in the facts which it presents, but also in the mirror which it holds up to the *differences* in the peace movement'.

Clearly what Pat Sloan would have preferred is that I should have torn the guts out of the contributors with whom he and I do not agree. Why? Is it that the readers of the *Labour Monthly* might be led astray and need to be protected, or that I need to protect my political reputation by underlining the faults in the pamphlet? This is nonsense, and the real answer is that Sloan likes to have his politics simple—black and white—friend or warmonger. Look at the first and last paragraphs of Sloan's letter. In the first place he is making a false point; in my review I am not dealing with who is a friend or who is a warmonger. I am commending to the attention of your readers a pamphlet issued by the National Peace Council which is itself a divided body. The contributors to that pamphlet were in my view honestly selected so that they portrayed that division of opinion within the N.P.C.

But in any event Sloan is wrong. There are many in this country who doubt whether or even deny that the



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two systems can live together peacefully; but they may still want peace. If such people are prepared to work with me to abolish the atom bomb, or (to stave off a war which maybe they think inevitable) against the rearmament of Germany, they are my allies and not warmongers. It is not true that he who is not with me is against me, the *real* warmongers would like it to be so, and there is no reason why we should help them.

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**Book Reviews**

## A CRITIC OF LITERATURE

*Studies in European Realism.* By George Lukacs. (274 pp. Hillway Publishing Co., 21*s*.)

GEORGE LUKACS'S *Studies in European Realism* deals with Balzac and Stendhal, Zola and Flaubert, Tolstoy and Gorki, and the Russian critics Bielinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov. Its central theme is that the novel (and criticism) reflects the objective movement of society, which exists independently of the novelist's mind. Both the truth and the artistic beauty of the novel come from realism—the fidelity with which the novel reflects objective social reality. Starting as he does with Balzac and concluding with Gorki, Lukacs is concerned with how the novel reflects the movement of society during the hundred years from the 1830s to the 1930s. The development of the novel during this period is shown in relation to the evolution of capitalism, to the bourgeois revolution of 1848, and to the transformation of the bourgeois revolution into the socialist revolution of 1917. In addition to observations of acute critical insight (particularly on the portrayal of character and the importance of types), the book makes the valuable contribution to critical method in that it relates the novel, not to the bourgeoisie as a static class, but to the bourgeois revolution and to the transformation of this revolution into the socialist revolution. The book, however, has the serious weakness that it leaves unclear the class basis of realism. The cause of this weakness lies in a one-sided view of the bourgeois revolution. In his final chapter, Lukacs quotes Gorki's words:

> There is every reason to hope that when Marxists will have written a history of culture, we shall see that the part played by the *bourgeoisie* in the creation of culture has been greatly overestimated, especially in the field of literature.

He comments that Gorki is applying to culture the Marxist theory that 'the tasks of the *Bourgeois* revolutions were always carried out really radically by the plebeian democratic elements *against the will* of the *bourgeoisie*'. Like the bourgeois revolution, Lukacs implies, bourgeois realism is not the work of the bourgeoisie alone.

But not until he comes to Tolstoy does Lukacs begin to apply these ideas. In his study of Balzac, the evolution of capitalism which the *Human Comedy* reflects is presented only as the victory of the bourgeoisie, not as being also the emergence and strengthening of the proletariat; similarly, the part played by the proletariat in the revolutionary movement of the '30's and '40's is not

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discussed. Lukacs assumes that the class struggle between capitalists and proletariat was so little developed in Balzac's lifetime that he 'could dig down to the very roots of the sharpest contradictions inherent in bourgeois society' without becoming clearly conscious of this struggle (though the *Communist Manifesto* was published two years before his death); therefore the working class movement is not reflected in, and had no influence upon, Balzac's work. Yet in their application to Balzac, Gorki's words and Lukacs's own comments upon them raise the question whether Balzac's realism is the reflection of capitalist evolution, not as the advance only of the capitalists, but as the simultaneous, contradictory advance of the capitalists and their grave-diggers. Lukacs, however, derives Balzac's realism only from the bourgeoisie; it is the expression of the fact that Balzac shared the development of the bourgeois class with 'true devotion and intensity of feeling'. In other passages, faced with Balzac's detestation of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, he derives his realism from the 'clairvoyant hatred of the nascent capitalist world' with which his 'feudal, romantic viewpoint' inspired him. In other passages Lukacs finds the impulse of Balzac's realism in his humanist and humanitarian hatred of the frustrations and suffering caused by capitalism; but the social source of these feelings he does not indicate. In his study of Tolstoy, Lukacs does apply the ideas indicated in the passage from Gorki. He discusses Tolstoy as 'the mirror of the Russian Revolution', in Lenin's phrase; and he shows how his work reflects what Lenin defined as the specific character of the bourgeois revolution in Russia: 'A victory of the bourgeoisie in our country is impossible as a bourgeois victory'. Consequently in Tolstoy's novels the 'visible-invisible ever-present protagonist' is the peasant, whereas in the work of Balzac it is the capitalist.

Lukacs, however, does not consider sufficiently in what way Tolstoy's realism, being the reflection of the bourgeois revolution at a more advanced stage, is higher than that of Balzac, nor in what way Gorki's realism is still more true, since he faithfully portrayed the opening of the era of proletarian revolution.

The key to the problem of bourgeois realism and to the rise of socialist realism is to be found, as Lukacs indicates, in the character of the bourgeois revolution and its transformation into the socialist revolution. But Lukacs does not show how bourgeois realism reflects the contradictions of the bourgeois revolution; nor does he show how socialist realism, being founded in the socialist revolution, can give a more truthful picture of reality than bourgeois realism, which is limited by the fact that the bourgeois revolution, despite the part played in it by the people, is bourgeois. Thus the class basis of realism, as already remarked, remains unclear, and this seriously lessens the value of the book.

In any subsequent edition, the numerous clumsinesses and incomprehensibilities of the translation and the equally numerous misprints and other typographical errors should be removed.

ALICK WEST

## CHINA SINGS

*Poems from China*, Translated by Wong Man. (241 pp. Creation Books, Hong Kong. Hirschfield Brothers Ltd., London. Cloth 10*s.* 6*d.*, Paper 7*s.* 6*d.*).

HERE is a taste of the further immense riches that the new China makes available for us all. This book includes over 120 poems covering 3,000 years; the Chinese text facing the English translation. There is a short biography of each poet, and some footnotes to ease our ignorance of China's history and culture.

The collection is divided into three



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sections. First come poems written in the classic metre and tone pattern, whatever date they were written: in this section 'Halloa' is the first composed some time between 1115-1079 B.C., in which King Sheng calls on his 10,000 hands to begin the spring ploughing. Or, about the same time, 'King's Serfs':

Hail you, King's Serfs
Heed you your task,
The King inspects,
Come to reckon.

Hail you, overseer!
Time of late spring,
Have you more wants?
How the new crops?

This section closes with 'The Long March', written in 1935 by Chairman Mao himself, as the march was reaching its victorious end.

In the second section, we get the Tz'us—irregular, but with fixed metres and tone patterns based on classical tunes. Among the earliest, written in the Ninth Century, an official who was exiled from the court is 'Recalling the South Kiang':

Beautiful South Kiang lands!
Dear scenes and sights that I revere:
Dawn waters blossoming than flame more bright,
Spring waters shimmering than dye more green—
Can I forget the South Kiang lands?

Writing a Tz'u in similar style eleven centuries later, again we find Mao Tse-tung, in 'Spring-Drenched Garden' looking down from an airplane on the

North Country scene
Miles frozen bound,
More miles snowflake:
See Long Wall in and out
Nothing but waste. . .
. . . Till fine day
Shall see her unveiled
In full beauty.
Hills and streams such loveliness grow
Let countless heroes homage to her bestow!
Pity Ch'in and Han
Rather unversed;
T'ang and Sung Kings
Lacked poetics,
Magnifico
That Jenghiz Khan
Knew but shoot eagles with stretched bow.
All is past!
For great men only
This age will show.

In the third section are modern songs written either after the style of Chinese folk ballads or of European verse. There are, for example, superb poems by Ma Fan-To, mostly written between 1943 and 1947, Sha Ou's 'Rural Lays', Tsang K'e-Chia's 'Little Slave Girl'. From Ma Fan-To we learn:

What kind of song the people love?
What sort of essay highly prized?
What type of play they gladly welcome?
What form of art that money cannot buy?
Songs that flow out of people's hearts the people love,
Essays that speak for the people the most prized,
Plays written for the people they gladly welcome,
Art that serves the people money cannot buy.

The same author's great poem, 'The Living Speaking to the Dead', calls on the 'war profiteers, Enemy's custodians, Family place-getters, Lightning turn-coats',

Go to them who
With naked flesh stopped bayonets,
With simple faith impeded tanks,
Died with a city, protected a village,
Burnt to death, hanged to death, buried to death,
Raped and afresh murdered—
Go to them and say:
Say, 'We commemorate you!'



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Say, 'We do give you our thanks!'
Say, 'We enjoy life today,
All in debt to you.'

Among the newest are work songs, lively and humorous, and Army songs as well as the fine new National song ('With our own blood and flesh Let's build our own new Great Wall').

Perhaps what strikes the reader most at a first reading is how long and bitter has been the struggle for existence of the Chinese people, how close the new songs are to the people, and how grand a range of opportunity now lies open before them. It is perhaps fitting to close by comparing the following with our first quotation of 'King's Serfs'.

April's here, life's workaday,
Where are idlers by the way?
Everybody singing hill songs.
Sing O sing,
Mouths sing hill songs, hands plant shoots,
Mouths sing hill songs, hands plant shoots,
Sing O sing O plant O plant,
Mouths sing hill songs, hands plant shoots,
Oi, hands plant shoots.

What a jubilant difference!

JOAN TUCKETT.

## TRADE UNIONISM

*Trade Unions Today*. Henry Collins. (142 pp. Frederick Muller 6*s*.)

*Trade Union Problems*. Betty England. (127 pp. Labour Research Department. 5*s*.)

THE publication of these two recent books on trade unionism reflects the ever-growing interest in the trade union movement in this country. The book by Henry Collins is intended to be a text book for use by students in adult classes, such as those promoted by the Workers' Educational Association and University Extra-Mural Departments. This aim governs the author's approach to his task. It is a workmanlike job and can be recommended as a useful text book. The author boldly introduces issues that are matters of acute controversy in the trade union movement which has the effect of making the subject a stimulating one in contrast to some of the incredibly dull primers that have been issued in recent years.

Miss England's book, although more limited in scope, being concerned as the author points out 'mainly with narrower problems, the organisational questions facing the movement today; questions of different kinds of unions, of relations between unions, of inner-union democracy and so on', emerges not as just another book on trade unionism resting on the studies that have been already undertaken in this field, supported by a skimming of the surface of the mass of material on trade union questions, but is in fact the first real general trade union study that has appeared for well over 30 years.

From this point of view the limited scope of the book is not the important question; what is important is that the issues selected are examined in the light of a thorough and deep study of the mass of material issued by the trade unions both privately and publicly, a task which no one has taken the trouble to undertake since the Webbs, Cole and Arnot in the pioneering days of trade union research. Even G. D. H. Cole, since he wrote such books as *The World of Labour* and *Trade Unionists on the Railways* (along with Arnot), has tended to skim the surface in his writings on trade unionism. Nor can the weighty and ponderous study by Political and Economic Planning and *Trade Union Documents* by Milne-Bailey be considered as research in the best traditions of the pioneers in this field. The study by P.E.P. in spite of its bulk, reflects a lack of depth; Milne-Bailey's book, although it brings together a valuable collection of trade union documents, is unfor-



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tunately interspersed by a commentary which reveals a slavish acceptance of trade union theories prevalent in T.U.C. circles.

The limited number of problems selected by Miss England, in fact, represent precisely those issues which are now the subject of considerable discussion within the trade union movement: such questions as democracy in the unions; inter-union relationships; the structure and functions of the T.U.C. and so on. It was so clearly right to take a limited field because of the enormous amount of material that had to be studied in order adequately to bring together in an authoritative way the main trends that are at work within the trade union movement in these fields.

While the high standard of objectivity that is maintained is to be welcomed, the treatment of one or two critical issues in the book leaves an impression of an almost painful desire to be fair to the protagonists. For example, the paragraphs on 'Trade Unions and Production' (Page 116) and 'Wage Restraint' (Page 125) although admirable summaries of the issues, really require something more. What we need to know is the author's considered views on these questions. This may appear a counsel of perfection, but the bolder, surer touch, which Miss England elsewhere in the book shows she is capable of, is needed throughout.

Apart from the intrinsic merits of the book which will be of enormous value to students of British trade unionism both in this country and overseas, the publication of *Trade Union Problems* is an outstanding event. It is outstanding for the reason that Miss England's study represents a return to the careful, painstaking and thorough examination of trade union documents which is found in the Webbs and Arnot, and was a feature of Cole's work in his earlier days. It is to be hoped that Miss England will continue this work into other fields of trade union enquiry which are hinted at in the present volume.

W.H.W.

## CHINESE ART TODAY

*Contemporary Chinese Woodcuts.* (101 pp. Fore Publications and Collet's. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

A FRIEND of mine once told me he never confused propaganda with art. Look through these pages, friend, and you will find no confusion. For here is the true marriage of propaganda and art. Here the artist fulfils his function, to mirror reality, and recreate the mighty struggles of the Chinese people for liberation and the creation of a new China. Chiang Kai-shek knew the power of these woodcuts, when during his régime he forbade their production. There are many lessons to be learned from these prints. Look at the pictures on pp. 90-96 for example. Peasant and soldier co-operate harmoniously to draw in the harvest. No strike-breakers here, Mr. Isaacs. Plain to see who are the real Socialists.

Although the general level is high, there are a number of outstanding prints. For instance, 'Ploughing the Rice Fields' on p. 29 and that on p. 31. Then there is the immensely powerful series 'Assault Section' on pp. 64-67. The impact of these four prints is quite awe-inspiring. From pp. 74-84 appear the rich and joyous series by an un-named folk artist of which two examples are shown in this issue. Illustrating various cycles such as agriculture, war and work, they epitomise the freedom and confidence in the future the Chinese people have won for themselves. Looking through this book, we too can feel strengthened and fortified.

R. T. F. TURNER.



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begin with, and about £2 floats it. Send out about 200 invitations to Labour Party and others, local trade unionists, etc., and don't worry over some missing fire; point out how true our magazine is proved by events. Today I went to send out 50 stamped envelopes with invitations in them to the local Fabians. Got addresses and went round getting 6d. postage each from Left-wing Labour Party men; job done. Now I went 10s. for an advertisement, I'll put down 5s. myself and collect 5s. from others; job done. We must aim to win, pushing Marxism for our very life. Other papers in England know the way into the stewpot; but *Labour Monthly* knows the way out. We must remember Danton's To dare, to dare and dare again'. In that spirit it would not be long before we could say of circulation raising: job done!

## RARER THAN GOLD

No. 1 of our 30th Year Celebration pamphlets series, *The Shaw Memorial* (1s.), has had a great reception. No. 2, J. D. Bernal's *The Way to Peace* (6d.), is now out. See back cover each month for further news; or you may miss the chance to secure a complete set. Our pamphlets published in the '20s and '30s are rarer than gold today.

Small space for fund news, except for a warm welcome to new steady-money guarantors, with a special word to 'Debt Repaid', undertaking 5s. a month as 'some repayment for all I owe' to this magazine over many years. The December total was:

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